

THE
CONDUCT
OF HIS GRACE
The Duke of *Ar--le*
For the Four last Years
REVIEW'D.
Together with
His GRACE's
SPEECH
April 15th, 1740.
UPON THE
STATE of the NATION.

D U B L I N :

Re-printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER,
in *Essex-Street*, MDCCXL.

1811

TOUCH

WORLD

—

—

—

—

—

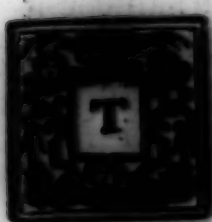
—

—

—



THE
CONDUCT
Of his GRACE
The D--ke of A---le,
For the four last Years
R E V I E W ' D.



THE illustrious Person whose Conduct we propose now to consider, has acted so distinguished a Part in Defence of the Trade, the Honour and Reputation of this Country, that we hope the following Review will neither be unuseful nor unacceptable to the Publick. The lower Rank of his Majesty's Subjects, who have no Access to know the secret Springs of State, and for whose Sake this Review is undertaken, will learn from this, that no Merits can avail against ministerial Influence; and that the greatest Services perform'd to one's Prince and Country may be cancell'd by an unseasonable Opposition to the M---r.

As there is no Occasion to carry this Review farther back than the last four Years, we are obliged to begin with his Grace's Conduct in an Affair wherein he was under the strongest Ties, not only from his Duty to his native Country, and his Attachment to the Principles of Justice, but even from

from Self-interest to oppose the Designs of the M——y.

Every body may remember the horrid Action committed at *Edinburgh* when *Porteous* was murder'd. The Government being justly incens'd, a Bill was brought into Parliament, by which it was intended that the City of *Edinburgh* should be disenfranchis'd of several of its Priviledges, and an Incapacity impos'd upon the Lord Provost who happened to be at the Head of Affairs in that City. My Lord Duke of *A---le*, who had sat in the Parliament of *Scotland*, at the Time when the Articles of the *Union* were debated and agreed to, and who remember'd, that the Parliament of *Scotland* were so jealous of whatever might affect the Priviledges of the Royal Bourghs, that whatever related to them was put upon the same Footing with the Affairs of Religion; and by the Articles of the *Union* rendered irreverfible, even by the Parliament it self; I say his G---e, who remembered all this, strenuously opposed the inflicting any Censure upon the City of *Edinburgh* upon Account of *Porteous*. Besides it did not appear to his G---e, that the Facts alledged against the Lord Provost and the Town had been in any Degree prov'd; nay, on the contrary, there was the strongest Evidence that both the Lord Provost and the City Council had done their utmost to suppress the Rioters; nay, they even ventured their Lives for that Purpose. Upon these Considerations his G---ce took occasion to remonstrate to the House the Injustice and the Cruelty of inflicting upon the Lord Provost and the Town the Penalties contained in the Bill, and did it with so great Force of Reasoning, that several Lords who were before inclined to have a very bad Opinion of the Accused, found Reason to alter their Sentiments, and to wish that Affair had not been carried so far.

It

It may be proper to remark here, that the Opposition which his Grace made in that important Affair, could not possibly flow from his Attachment to any Party, but purely from his Conviction of the Injustice and Severity of the Measure it self. The Enquiry it self was mov'd for, and the Bill brought in by L-----ds with whom his G-----ce has ever since been of the same Way of Thinking; and it was oppos'd by others, who never were remarkable for their Attachment to any Sentiments which his Grace espoused upon publick Affairs.

But another Consideration besides those which arose from the Nature of the Crime with which the Delinquents were charg'd, had great Weight in determining his Grace to oppose the Severity of this Measure; and that was the Nature of Bills of Pains and Penalties, which in his Grace's Opinion were seldom justifiable, and never eligible. This was giving a great Proof of Disinterestedness, since, as his Grace at that Time owned, he had not been always of that Way of Thinking. Many would have in such a Case rather chosen not to have appeared in the Question at all, since they could not have acted consistently with their former Way of thinking and acting; but his G-----e was above these mean Considerations, and thought that nothing could reflect so much Honour upon the greatest Character, as acting consistently with Truth and Conscience, be the Consequences what they will.

Such was the first Act of Opposition to the Court from this noble D-----ke within the Period I have propos'd to consider; but if we reflect on all the Circumstances of that Affair, his worst Enemies can never charge his G-----e in that Opposition with any intention of distressing the Affairs of his Royal Master, or even of his Minister, since his
G-----e

G---e was joined in his Opposition by those who have ever been remarkable for not giving in any other Affair one single Vote against the Court. But even so far back as that Time the World began to talk as if his G---e's Conduct had been disagreeable to the M---r ; and that he had laid hold of some Expressions that dropt from his G---e in the Heat of the Debate, to do him bad Services with his Royal M---r. His G---e's expressing at that time a *Dislike to all kind of Jobs* might be no favourable Symptom to the M---r, of his Conduct when a Jobb was to be in Hand, and might even then give him no small Uneasiness in reflecting that there was a Man in the Nation who held considerable Employments under the Government, and who would be honest enough to oppose him, should he pursue dark or dishonourable Measures. We shall not pretend to say, whether the Mine that has since sprung was then begun, but shall proceed in our Review.

The next great Affair in which his G---e thought it necessary to espouse the Interest of his Country, and the true Glory of his Sovereign, was in the Affair of the Convention. As I intend to confine this Review to Facts that are publicly known, I shall not take upon me to warrant the Truth of what has been given out, as if the *Spanish* Ambassador at the Time when Mr. *Oglethorp* was sent over to *Georgia*, should have presented a Memorial to our C---t, demanding that his Master should be put into Possession of that Colony, and that the Subjects of *Great Britain* should withdraw from it within a Time therein limited ; and besides all this that Mr. *Oglethorp* and his *Cannille*, as the *Don* politely worded it, should not be sent over ; and that when this Memorial came to be consider'd in a certain Place, his Grace had given it as his Opinion, *That he should be ordered*

to depart the Kingdom. I say, I shall not warrant the Truth of these Facts, because they are not so publicly known; but granting they were true, his G——ce did nothing but was entirely consistent with his Duty and Honour: But to proceed,

Every Body knows that in the Year 1738, after the Merchants, who had petitioned the Parliament for Redress of their Grievances which they suffered from the Insolence and Injustice of *Spain*, had to the Conviction of all the World, made out their Losses, both Houses of Parliament thought it necessary to come to certain Resolutions upon that Head. Accordingly, a noble Lord, who never was suspected of Dissatisfaction with the present Measures, presented five Resolutions which he thought were proper to be laid before his Majesty, and which were understood by all the House to serve as a Direction to the M——r, in all his future Negotiations with the Court of *Spain*. That the Reader may have a clearer Idea of the Motives that might induce his G——ce to oppose the Measures that were taken in consequence of these Resolutions, we think it will be absolutely necessary to set them down in this Place, and likewise to make a small Recapitulation of what then past.

1. Resolv'd, That the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* have a clear and undoubted Right to navigate in the *American* Seas, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions; and for carrying on such Trade and Commerce, as they are justly intitled to in *America*; and also, to carry all Sorts of Goods and Merchandizes, or Effects, from one Part of his Majesty's Dominions to any other Part thereof, and that no Goods, being so carried, are by any Treaty subsisting between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited Goods; and that

that the searching of such Ships on the open Seas, under Pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns.

2. Resolv'd, That it appears to this House, that as well before as since, the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville*, on the Part of *Great Britain*, divers Ships and Vessels, with their Cargoes, belonging to *British* Subjects, have been violently seized and confiscated by the *Spaniards*, upon Pretences altogether unjust and groundless; and that many of the Sailors on Board such Ships have been injuriously and barbarously Imprisoned and ill Treated; and that thereby the Liberty of Navigation and Commerce belonging to his Majesty's Subjects, by the Law of Nations, and by Virtue of the Treaties subsisting between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, hath been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great Loss and Damage of our Merchants, and in direct Violation of the said Treaties.

3. Resolv'd, That it appears to this House, that frequent Applications have been made, on the Part of his Majesty, to the Court of *Spain*, in a manner the most agreeable to the Treaties, and to the Peace and Friendship subsisting between the two Crowns, for redressing the notorious Abuses and Grievances before mentioned, and preventing the like for the Future, and for obtaining adequate Satisfaction to his injured Subjects; which in the Event has proved entirely fruitless, and of no Effect.

We think it our Duty on this important Occasion, humbly to represent to your Majesty, that we are most sensibly affected with the many and grievous Injuries and Losses sustained by your Majesty's Trading Subjects, by Means of these unwarrantable Depredations and Seizures; and to give your Majesty the strongest and most sincere Assurances,

Assurances, that in case your friendly and powerful Instances for procuring Restitution and Reparation to your injured Subjects, and for the future Security of their Trade and Navigation, shall fail of having their due Effect and Influence on the Court of *Spain*, and shall not be able to obtain that real Satisfaction and Security, which your Majesty may in Justice expect; we will zealously and chearfully concur in all such Measures, as shall become necessary for the Support of your Majesty's Honour, the Preservation of our Navigation and Commerce, and the common Good of these Kingdoms.

Such were the Directions which the Wisdom of the Nation thought necessary to be observed in any future Peace with the *Spaniards*, but we must not neglect to inform the Reader that the latter Part of the first Resolution, *viz. And that the searching of such Ships on the open Seas under Pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties subsisting betwixt the Crowns*; was proposed by my Lord C——; by way of Amendment to the Resolutions as they were presented by my Lord C—— y. The first of these Noble Lords, in a Speech which he made on that Occasion, opened a new Scene of Reasoning upon that Subject, with which every Body was both pleased and surprized. Pleased to find that Justice and Equity were so much on the Side of *Great Britain*, and surprized that they themselves had never found out the plain invincible Truths which his Lordship then laid down. His Lordship found that there could be no such thing as Contraband Goods, betwixt *Spain* and *Great Britain* in the *West-Indies*; and that it was a Contradiction in Terms, to talk of prohibiting Commodities, and of confiscating them in Consequence of such Prohibition, upon Seas and Coasts, where all

Trade was prohibited ; and still more absurd, to pretend to search Ships on Seas, where no Object of Search could exist. He explained the Difference betwixt the Treaty of 1667, and that of 1670, and shew'd that in the one, which regarded the *European* Dominions of the two Crowns, mention was made of a Visit, and the manner in which it was to be made, was expressly regulated ; but that in the other, which regarded *America*, only no mention was made of prohibited Goods, none of a Visit, and none of a Search, for the plain Reason above-given, because by that Treaty, a mutual Prohibition of Trade being stipulated, therefore not only particular Commodities, but the very Trade itself was prohibited, and consequently no Object of Search could exist. This solid Reasoning had so great Weight with the House, that the Amendment proposed was with a very little Alteration agreed to unanimously, though there were several Lords who foresaw that the Resolutions, as they then stood, would be an insuperable Bar to any Treaty, unless the Crown of *Spain* should expressly disclaim all manner of Right, to search our Ships upon the *American* Seas.

The Resolutions to which the House of Commons came on that Occasion, were neither so strict, nor are they so material for my present Purpose to relate ; but this Step in both Houses had that good Effect that the People thought, it was not now in the Power of the Ministry to conclude any Peace with *Spain*, to the Disadvantage or Dishonour of the Nation. At the same Time it required no great Share of Penetration, to discern from the haughty Air which the *Spanish* Court assum'd, and from the Reasoning of her Ministry, that the Right of searching *British* Ships, was what the Crown of *Spain* would never give up, unless forced to do it by Blows. Nay, so positive was *Geral-*
dino

dino on that head, that he was often heard to wonder, that the Ministry here shou'd so far impose, both upon the King and the People, as to endeavour to make them believe, that it was possible to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, in which such a Renunciation shou'd be insisted on; for, *to use his own Words*; the King my Master, said he, will as soon part with his Eyes as with his Right of Search upon the *American* Seas. All the Time of the following Recess of Parliament was spent in the various Traverses, which the Negotiations for Peace met with; and we shall not pretend to determine/ whether there is any Foundation for what is commonly believed, that his Grace very freely oppos'd the Convention when it was considered at a certain Board. However, so fond of it were its Authors, that the Sitting of the Parliament was delay'd for a Fortnight, merely to gain Time to ratify that Treaty, and to make it more difficult for those, who they knew wou'd oppose it, to get it thrown out.

At last the Parliament was open'd with a Gracious Speech from the Throne, in which they were told, “ The Measures his Majesty had pursued, “ had so good an Effect, that a Convention was “ concluded, whereby upon Consideration of the “ Demands had on both Sides, the King of *Spain* “ had obliged himself to make Reparation to the “ Subjects of *Great Britain*, for their Losses, by “ a stipulated Payment, and that Plenipotentiaries “ were therein named and appointed for redressing within a limited Time, all those Grievances and Abuses, which had interrupted our “ Commerce and Navigation in the *American* “ Seas. Upon this some L—ds moved that in the Address presented to his Majesty; “ His “ Majesty shou'd be thank'd for acquainting the “ Parliament that a Convention was concluded,

“ in the Terms of the Speech from the Throne,
 “ and acknowledging his Majesty's Goodness for
 “ making, in Conjunction with the Parliament,
 “ Reparation for past Injuries and Losses, and
 “ Security against Future, his great View in this
 “ national and important Affair.

Upon the Motion for this Address being second-
 ed, a Noble L——d rose up and desir'd that the
 Journal containing the Resolution we have seen
 above, shou'd be read, which being done, he ob-
 jected to any particular Acknowledgments upon
 the Subject of the Convention till it appear'd to
 the House, that the Measure which had been ta-
 ken were in Terms of the Resolutions. This was
 supported with great Eloquence and Zeal; and
 his G——ce here gave a remarkable Proof, how
 well he could distinguish betwixt the Duty he
 ow'd to the Person of his Sovereign, and the
 regard he had for the Honour of his Country;
 for tho' he well knew how shameful a Treaty the
 Convention was, yet he was so tender of whatever
 related to his Majesty's Person, that he declared
 tho' he had as bad an Opinion of the Thing call'd
 a Convention, as any L——d in the House had,
 yet that he thought he ow'd so much to his
 Master as to oppose nothing that had an Appear-
 ance of Zeal or Acknowledgment, for his Maje-
 sty's Person. Besides he did not conceive, that
 any Thing they should insert in the Address, cou'd
 preclude any Lord from speaking his Mind freely
 upon the Convention, when the proper Time
 came for debating it. This Opinion of his Grace,
 had so much Weight with the House that the Ad-
 dress was agreed to without any Division.

After so remarkable an Instance, of his G——ce's
 Regard, for his Sovereign, with what Face can it
 be pretended that his G——ce shou'd draw down
 the Chastisement of the C——t by any Piece of
 Dis-

Disrespect to the Person of his M — y, since it is certain that in all the Speeches and in all Reasonings that ever happened on publick Affairs, his G — ce still took Care to express the most inviolable Fidelity for the Royal Person and always confin'd his Censure to the Ministry and their Measures.

This is a Conduct that is warranted by the very Nature of the Constitution, which supposes that a King can do no wrong, but that his Ministry may. This Maxim as it is full of Duty to the Person of Majesty, so it is the greatest Security to the Liberty of the Subject, as it opens a Door for Enquiry into all publick Mismanagements that have been committed under the Authority or Shadow of the Sovereign. Unhappy therefore must this Country be, if a Time should ever come when a Subject of the first Rank for Abilities, Experience, Fortune and Dignity, shall be excluded from the Service of his Sovereign, only because he understands this Distinction; when the Punishment which he meets with in one Capacity, shall extend to another; or, in other Words, when a Servant of his Majesty shall as a Soldier, be punished for what he doth as a P — r or a Member of Par — t.

The next remarkable Occasion on which his G — ce had an Opportunity to manifest his Dislike of the M — r's Proceedings, was in the Debate upon the Question, whether the Directors of the South-Sea-company should be examin'd in regard to the famous Declaration which was given by the Spanish Minister to Mr. Keen, containing a Defiance of the *Asiento* Contract, in case 68000 Pounds was not paid to his Catholick Majesty within a limited Term; and likewise a disannulling of the whole Convention, if the same Terms were not complied with. His G — ce thought that

that this Motion was highly reasonable, because it was impossible for the House to judge of the Reasonableness of the *Spanish* Demand, unless they knew upon what Pretence that 68000 Pounds were demanded in so insolent, and arbitrary a Manner by the *Spanish* Court. This appear'd so unanswerable, that his G — e was join'd in the Division by several, who gave no other Vote against the C — t during all the Debates upon the Convention. One Circumstance indeed might concur to irritate the Patrons of the Convention, and that was, when they found there was nothing to be done in any other Way, they call'd for the Vote; his G — e then unluckily said: That they might carry that Question by N — s, but it would never be in *their Power to cram the Convention down the Throats of the People*. In this he shew'd himself to be as a true a Prophet, as in the other Steps of his Conduct he proved himself a firm Patriot.

Now to make some Reflections upon this Piece of Opposition: could any thing appear more reasonable, before the Sense of the H — e had determined the Question, than for a *British* House of P — t to vindicate the Honour of their Sovereign, and the Faith of solemn Treaties, by enquiring into the Grounds of a Measure, which tho' accepted of with reciprocal Accord by our Minister at *Madrid*, seem'd to reflect so much Dishonour upon both: There, by one Dash of a *Spanish* M — r's Pen, not only the *Asiento* Contract was set aside after it had been established by the Faith of Nations, but the Performance of the little that we seem'd to have gain'd by the Convention, was render'd precarious and uncertain, and our Merchants again subjected to the most cruel and infamous Usage from the Court of *Spain*. Not only so, but they did not know that all the

Pains

Pains and Expences which the Nation had been at, were to no Manner of Purpose, because if that Demand of the King of *Spain's* was ill founded, and if the South Sea-company refus'd to comply with it, the Convention was *ipso facto* null and void; which would have been the most infamous shameful Prostitution of the national Character ever yet happened: And the worst of all was, that the King of *Spain* had honestly told us before hand what we were to expect, as appeared from Mr. *Keen's* Letters, so that we could not appeal to the rest of *Europe* for Justice, since the Whole of the Transaction was previously concerted betwixt the *Spanish* and *British* Ministers.

Thus far therefore it must appear that his G——ce in all his Opposition to the Court, had, at least, the Appearance of Reason on his Side, which was conducted with the most profound Marks of Respect for the Royal Person; and therefore there could not be the least Reason from any Part of his Conduct, so far as yet appears, for imposing any Censure upon him.

The next great Part that was acted upon the political Theatre, was the Approbation of the Convention it self. There all the Arguments that we have seen before were urg'd against the Address, took Place and had their full Force. I shall take no Notice of any but his G——ce's Conduct, which still preserved the most inviolable Attachment to his Majesty and the Interests of the Nation. His G——ce began his Speech with a Profession of Disinterestedness, in which we may venture to affirm he was believed by all the Assembly who were present: He then exposed the pernicious Consequences of the Convention with great Solidity of Reasoning and force of Eloquence, he shew'd to what a Degree of Meanness we were sunk, when we suffer'd a neighbouring Court to
dictate

dictate to us in almost every Step of our Conduct and to proceed to such a Pitch of Insolence, as to oblige us to break a brave Sea Officer only for doing his Duty against a Ship of that Nation; and which, if he had not done, he must have suffered by the Rules of War here. He likewise demonstrated from History, that the Convention was a Treaty that must have been rejected with Disdain in former and more uncorrupted Ages. Nor must it be conceal'd, that he took Notice how Queen *Elizabeth*, one of the most glorious Princes that ever filled the Throne of *England*, never ruled by a sole Minister. Ministers indeed she had, but these were so far from being the sole and arbitrary Disposers of all Affairs relating to the Kingdom, that they seem to have had no other Pre-eminence but in being subjected to a greater Share of Toil in the Affairs of Government. At the same Time he declared that he had disapproved of the Conduct of the Ministry, with Regard to the Management of foreign Affairs for eighteen Years past. He took Notice of the resolute Maxims of *Cromwell's* Government, by which he had carried the Terror and Reputation of the *English* Arms to such a Height, and that the principal of these Maxims were, *Never to suffer an Insult upon the Flag of England, by any Power on Earth, to pass unrevenge'd*. He made a very accurate and a very just Distinction betwixt a Visit and a Search; he told the House, that the Convention was a Measure of the Ministry, not of his Majesty; and that if they agreed to the Address propos'd, that all the World would look upon it as a mean returning of Thanks to the Minister for a Treaty that had given up all the Wealth and Commerce of the Nation to the Mercy of its natural and inveterate Enemies; he explain'd, and in a very beautiful Manner laid down the Distinction

tion we have already taken Notice of, *The King of Britain could do no wrong*; and he told the House, *That he would die before he would consent to approve of a Treaty so dishonourable in every Step.*

It is doing an Injustice to relate in this patch'd Manner, what he then delivered with so much Eloquence and in so beautiful a manner, the Reader may judge of the Weight it must have had with the illustrious Assembly, when I acquaint him, that for some Time nothing was heard but a desponding Murmur which seem'd to promise that the Question should be dropt: But other Speeches resum'd the Subject, and the Address was carried by a considerable Majority.

As we are now upon his G——'s Conduct, we ought not to omit one Circumstance, which was, that a certain great Man was so much alarmed with the Speech which he made upon the Convention, that he said in his Speech upon the Convention in the H——se of C——ns, "That
 " while he had any thing to say in the Govern-
 " ment, Military Officers should have as little
 " Power as possible in determining the Point of
 " of Peace and War in the Councils of his M——ty;
 " for, *said he*, they commonly court Glory by vo-
 " ting for War, no matter tho' it is attended with
 " Ruin to their Country." This was well understood by a certain honourable Gentleman who sat near him, as levelled at his G——ce; and he accordingly next Day took Notice of it, as a Circumstance greatly to his G——ce's Advantage.

As this was a very considerable Piece of Opposition, it may be expected we should make some Reflections upon his G——ce's Conduct in this Affair. Very few are needful; for it is well known, that it is the Duty of every *British* Nobleman to tell his *Mind* freely upon all matters of Consequence

to the Publick, especially in an Affair upon which the Honour, Interest and Commerce of the Nation depended; so that it never can be supposed, that he now feels any bad Consequence from that Day's Conduct.

Let us now attend the D—ke to his next publick Step of Opposition to the M——ry. Towards the Close of the same Session, a Message came from the Throne to both Houses, demanding a Vote of Credit and Confidence during the Recess of Parliament; and to make this Demand go the better down, a Copy of the Subsidary Treaty with the King of Denmark was sent along with it. The last Measure which stood first in the Message, met with no Opposition, but was rather approved of by all Parties; but very strong Debates happened upon the latter. As the Sum insisted on was not specified in the Message, the Demand of an unlimited Credit was vigorously opposed by several Lords, and among the rest by his G—ce, who said, that they should look upon that Message as a Message from the M——r, and treat it as such; accordingly he entered very freely into the Nature of Votes of Credit, and shewed that the granting them, especially to an unlimited Extent, was no other than voting a dictatorial Power in the M——r, and enabling him to rule without the Assistance of Parliaments: This he thought was a Power too great to invest even in the Crown it self; since it is plain, that the Liberties of several States in Europe are at this Day forfeited by their giving up their Power of granting Money. Those of Spain were ruined by parting with it but for one Year, and the Power of granting Money according to the Exigencies of State is at present the most valuable Privilege of a British Parliament. All this was urged by his G——ce and other noble L——ds who spoke in the Debate; bt the House

House being assured that a Bill was in great Forwardness in the House of Commons, by which the Sum granted to his Majesty was limited to five hundred thousand Pounds, the Question was carried in the Affirmative.

Thus far his Grace's Conduct is unblameable, with regard to his Behaviour towards his Majesty. He opposed those Measures because he thought they had an arbitrary Tendency; and because he thought the Interests of the Crown and People might very well admit of being distinctly considered from those of the Ministry.

Another Question that was brought the same Session into the House, gave his Grace an Opportunity again to oppose the Growth and Influence of ministerial Power. The Crown of Spain was by the Convention obliged to pay the famous 95,000 *l.* to the Subjects of Great Britain, in four Months Time after the Ratification of the Convention. The four Months being elapsed, and a Bill going thro' both Houses, by which the 60000 *l.* that was to be paid to the King of Spain, in Consideration of his Damages in the Year 1718, was appropriated towards the Discharge of Part of the Money stipulated by Spain to be paid to the Merchants, some Lords thought they had a Right to address the Throne, to know if the 95000 Pounds were paid. There was nothing in a Motion of this Kind, but what was fair and dutiful; and it was even, it seems, foreseen by the Court; for a noble Duke said, *That he had leave from his Majesty to acquaint the House, that the 95000 *l.* was not paid.* His Grace, among others, thought this Answer very unsatisfactory, and took Occasion to tell his Mind pretty freely with Regard to the Power which Ministers had lately assumed in Britain. The Word *Minister*, said he, in the common English Acceptation of it signifies a Ser-

vant;

vant; but said his G——ce, it seems now to be understood in the *French* Sense, which is *Maire de Palais*. It having been much insisted upon that the Motion was irregular, because the Crown could not give an Answer but by the Ministers who were to prepare it, and which the House had already received. His G——ce upon this observed, that he thought the H——se had already dealt with the C——n too much thro' the Medium of the M——ry, and that it was now high time for them to address his Majesty, and have an Answer from himself, that they might try what Effect that would have in the Management of Affairs. He likewise observed, that formerly the House did not use to stand so much upon Ceremonies with Ministers as it did now, and gave some Instances of the Freedom with which the Parliament used to treat them. It was however carried, That the H——se had received a Parliamentary Answer.

The next Step taken by the Opposition, was to move, that the State of the Nation should be taken into Consideration of the H——se. This being carried, a noble L——d moved, that the Non-payment of the 95000 Pounds, &c. was a manifest Infringement, on the Part of Spain, of the Convention, a high Indignity to his Majesty, and an Injustice to the Nation. The Truth of this was not disputed nor denied; but the Debate run, how far, in the then Situation of Affairs, it would have been prudent to agree to a Motion that must inevitably have brought on an Address for an immediate War. His G——ce declared strongly for agreeing to the Resolution, and said, he hoped that a *British* House of P——rs never should be afraid to assert a plain uncontestable Fact: That he loved open Dealing of all things, and that he observed that they who deal too much in Mysteries soon run into Methodism. But upon a noble

L——

L—d's assuring the H—se that nothing was now left but to enter upon Action, the more prudential Considerations, carried it, and the Resolution was thrown out.

All these Steps in his G—ce certainly were great Proofs of his Dissatisfaction at the Measures then carried on, but none of his Disrespect to his Majesty's Person and Government; and such an Opposition was very compatible with the enjoyment of all his Places under the C—n. So that the Reader may expect to find him concerned in some undutiful Steps towards the Royal Person in the last Session; but upon the strictest Review of what then pass'd, we shall find the same Uniformity of Conduct prevailing in his G—ce; and him acting with the strictest Regard to his Prince, his Country, and his own Character.

Upon the opening of the last Session, an Address was moved for in Answer to the S—ch from the T—ne, in which Mention was made of Heats and Animosities, as if they had still subsisted among them. His G—ce, among other L—ds, strongly opposed these Expressions, standing Part of the Address. He thought, that because the M—t was perhaps in a testy Humour when the S—ch was drawn up, they ought not to impose so far upon his Majesty, as to give him room to believe that any Heats and Animosities subsist at present. He was therefore very much of Opinion, that these Words ought to be omitted in the Address. Other L—ds insinuated, as if the H—se might go farther, and even address his Majesty to know by whose Means these Words were inserted in the S—ch from the T—ne. But it was carried, that the Words in Debate should stand Part of the Address.

His G—e had no particular Share in the other Transactions of the last Session of P—t, which are too recent to deserve particular Mention here,

to distinguish him from other L—ds who were likewise in the Opposition. But, in the last Debate upon the State of the Nation, he exerted himself with so uncommon a Zeal for the Honour of his Country, that we thought it wou'd not be unacceptable to the Publick if we gave the whole of his S——ch. This we do the rather, because it immediately preceded an Event which has occasioned a great deal of Talk in the Nation, as if his G—ce had done somewhat in his Civil Capacity that merited his Dismission from his Ma—sty's Service; but this Calumny is sufficiently refuted by what we have already laid before the Reader. As we have no Grounds for believing that this G—ce's Conduct has not been strictly justifiable with regard to his Sovereign, his Country, and his own Character. Therefore, if what is commonly given out is true, that his G—ce has received such a Dismission, we are dutifully to conclude, that it is for Reasons best known to the Sovereign himself, and which he is obliged to give an Account of to no Power upon Earth. It is indeed a melancholy Consideration to reflect, that the M——r has declar'd, *He never wou'd give his Consent towards keeping any military Officer in Posts of Power, who should oppose the Measures of the Ad—n.* And continued, *He must be a pitiful Fellow of a Minister indeed, who wou'd not advise his Master to turn such Men out.* I don't know if this Passage can throw any Light upon the Step of divesting the D—ke of A—le of all his Posts; but as we have already seen that nothing undutiful can be charg'd upon his G—ce as to his Publick Conduct, what nobler Character can any Subject claim, than that, **HE WAS A MAN, WHO WAS DIVESTED OF ALL HIS POSTS IN THE ARMY, BECAUSE HE ASSERTED THE GLORY OF HIS SOVEREIGN**

SOVEREIGN, AND THE INTEREST OF HIS COUNTRY, AGAINST THE POWER OF A SOLE MINISTER, WHO, BY A LONG STRAIN OF WEAK MEASURES, HAD REFLECTED DISHONOUR UPON THE ONE, AND BROUGHT DISCREDIT UPON THE OTHER.

POSTSCRIPT.

IT was proposed to resolve, That the unexpected taking and demolishing of *Porto-Bello* by Admiral *Vernon*, with no other Land-Forces than 240 Men lent him by the Governor of *Jamaica*, might not only have been rendered certain and infallible, but likewise, have been attended with further and greater Success, if some of our Land Forces, commanded by Experienced Officers had been sent to the *West Indies* about the same Time that Admiral sail'd, and that the sending of no Land-Forces hitherto into *America*, is a manifest Piece of ill Conduct, in the Prosecution of this just and necessary War.

And a Question being stated there upon, after a Debate,

It was ordered to leave out the Words not only have been rendered certain and infallible, but likewise.

And the Question being put upon the said Proposition, without these Words.

It was resolved in the Negative.

SPEECH

SPEECH of the D^{uke} of A^{le},
 upon the State of the Nation;
April 15, 1740.

My LORDS,

THE Present Question is of so great Importance, that I cou'd wish that every Lord in this House was to declare his Opinion, with the same Sincerity, with the same Unreservedness which I think is my indispensable Duty to use, when I lay my poor Thoughts before your Lordships, I, my Lords, have no View in speaking upon publick Affairs, but to do that Service to my Master and my Country, that I think every Lord in this House ought to aim at, without regarding who takes his honest Endeavours amiss; for my own Part, my Lords, I have ever since I had the Honour to sit in this House, spoke my Mind with equal freedom upon all Occasions, and will continue to do it the more sincerely as I have neither Hopes nor Fears from this Administration, and as few from the next; and, my Lords, so void is my Breast of all partial Considerations, of all interested Views, that I don't care, if all my Thoughts were read at *Charing-Cross*, all my Ambition being to be thought a Man who speaks and acts as he thinks, and, my Lords, it has been long my Opinion that by such a Conduct, a Man may even force the Esteem of his Enemies.

I, my Lords, have liv'd long enough in the World, to be able to compare the once flourishing State of this Country, with its present melancholly Situation; I have seen, my Lords, a Time when

Griev

Great-Britain was glorious, triumphant and terrible Abroad, her Government lov'd, respected and env'y'd at Home; when her Enmity was dreaded, and when her Alliance was courted. Is there a Subject in this Kingdom, my Lords, who can reflect that these were once the happy Circumstances of this Country, and yet sees the deplorable Alteration which a few Years has made, who will not feel a sensible Concern upon the Comparison, however self Interest may alleviate his Grief. I know, my Lords, what has been said in Favour of those who have been the Instruments of bringing this melancholly Change about; I know it has been attributed to Fortune and to unforeseen Causes. My Lords, I am very sensible that Fortune has very often a very great Hand in Publick Events, and that a Nation may suffer a great deal from Events, that no Human foresight cou'd prevent or guard against; but I am far from thinking that this has been our Case. I am apt to believe my Lords, that Fortune has been favourable to us, and presented us with many Opportunities of raising the Honour and Interest of this Nation, to as high a Pitch as ever, even while they have been suffering the most, but that these Opportunities have been all wantonly slighted, and neglected. It is, my Lords, I am afraid, owing to a long Series of Misconduct, to a long train of weak Measures, unsuccessful and unnatural Expedients, and not to Fortune, that this Nation has suffer'd so much in her Character and Interest in all the Courts of *Europe*. A very slight Review, my Lords, of our Conduct for some Years past may convince any Man of this Truth.

The Treaty of *Utrecht* my Lords is a Measure that we have been often told is the Source of all those Inconsistencies that appear in our Conduct for these last five and twenty Years. My Lords, I had the Honour of sitting in this House at that

D

Time

Time, and to have some Share in the Successes that might have entitled us to a much better Treaty; I am very sensible it was not a good Treaty, and when it came to be consider'd by the House, no Lord spoke with greater Freedom on that Occasion than I did. At the same Time, my Lords, my Opposition to that Treaty cou'd not proceed from any Dissatisfaction, from any ill Will that I cou'd bear to those who concluded it. I liv'd on good Terms, nay, had personal Friendships with several who had a large Share in the Negotiations that brought it about; but I oppos'd it because I thought it might have been better, and because it gave up many Advantages that we might have then justly claim'd. But, my Lords, bad as it was, I don't think you have made a better since, and had even the Advantages which the Nation gain'd by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, been improv'd by the next Ministry, had they made a right Use of their Power in cementing the short liv'd Misunderstandings, that soon after broke out among our Allies, and thus depriving *France* of all the Means of retrieving her Power upon these Differences, you might, notwithstanding all that then happen'd, have gone on from Glory to Glory, till you had fix'd the Ballance of Power unalterably in your own Hands.

But, my Lords, the succeeding Ministry took no Warning from the Misconduct of their Predecessors; they took no Care to avoid treading in their Footsteps, tho' the Ruin to which they led, was so clearly and so evidently pointed out: they fell into a train of foolish Negotiations which disobliged and detach'd your best Friends from your Interests, and which gave your natural Enemies an Opportunity of retrieving all they had lost. They adopted a Maxim, my Lords, that any, even the most dishonourable Peace, was preferable to a War, and by

by their inviolable adherence to this Maxim, they have led you into all that Discredit, I had almost said Scandal, that has come upon you from all Quarters. This Situation, my Lords, is the more dreadful as it is attended with no Security. We have negotiated ourselves out of all Reputation, and tho' we have been doing nothing, but forming Alliances and making Treaties for these twenty Years past, we have not at this Day one Ally in the World, nor one Treaty that at this Time stands us in any stead. My Lords, I appeal to Facts: Where are your Allies? Have you received the least Assistance from any Power in *Europe* since you enter'd into this War; or, is there any Appearance of their declaring in your Favour?

Having said thus much, my Lords, upon the General State of the Nation at this Time, I shall now trouble your Lordships with my Opinion as to this particular Question. And here, my Lords, I cannot help declaring, that I think the Words of the Question are extremely proper, and that it is very becoming your Lordships Wisdom and Dignity while you have the State of the Nation under your Consideration, to enquire into the Particulars which this Resolution comprehends. It consists, my Lords, of two plain undeniable Facts, and one Consequence; therefore I cannot see the least Grounds for supposing with a noble Lord who has spoken in this Debate, that our agreeing to this Resolution can ever reflect the least Dishonour upon the glorious Success at *Porto-Bello*, or that it is a Censure, upon the Congratulations which have been presented already to his Majesty on that Account. My Lords, Truth will be Truth, whatever Glosses are made to disguise it, and whatever Attempts are made to pervert it. The present Question contains nothing but what every Lord must admit of. The Parts of which it consists, are no way complicated, and
must

must be understood by every Body who takes the Pains to consider the Fact; which, my Lords, is, that if Admiral *Vernon* had been furnish'd with a proper Body of Land Forces, the taking of *Porto-Bello* might have been render'd not only more certain and infallible, but have been attended with greater Consequences to the Nation. My Lords, the noble Lord who made the Motion, gave your Lordships no ground for thinking that he meant a Scriptural Infallibility, such an Infallibility as the Church of *Rome* vests in her Popes, by the Words *certain* and *infallible* contain'd in this Motion; no my Lords, as I understand the Words of the Resolution, they mean no more than that if Admiral *Vernon* had been furnished with Land Forces, it was fifty thousand to one if he had fail'd in his Attack upon *Porto-Bello*; whereas, there, were many Chances to one against his Success, as he was not furnish'd with them. The Words *certain* and *infallible* therefore, are here put in opposition to the Precariousness and Uncertainty he was under in making such an Attack with so trifling a Number. For, my Lords, give me leave to say it, had the *Spaniards* behav'd with Resolution, had they defended the Place as well as its Fortifications might have admitted of, Admiral *Vernon* could not have succeeded. And as it was, my Lords, nothing but his own Intrepidity and good Conduct cou'd have prevented his Ships coming very indifferently off; but he acted with the Resolution that became an *English* Admiral, he said he *could take the Place, and he would take it*; and, my Lords, it was owing to him, and him only, that it was taken: for it appears that his Ship did all the Damage to the *Spaniards*. Now, my Lords, can any Lord doubt, that if Admiral *Vernon* had been properly supported by a sufficient Body of Land-Forces, that he might
not

not have attempted greater Matters than the taking and demolishing of *Porto-Bello*?

Having said thus much, my Lords, in Defence of the Facts contain'd in the Question, I come now to the Consequence which I suppose to have been that Part of the Motion that has given rise to all this Debate. This Consequence, my Lords, is, that the not sending Land-Forces with Mr. *Vernon*, was a Piece of Mismanagement in the prosecuting *this just and necessary War*. My Lords, who doubts that it was? A noble Lord who spoke first in the Debate, was pleas'd to say, that a great many things were necessary to be provided, in order to embark any Number of Land-Forces for so distant a Voyage. My Lords, it is now a long time since I serv'd, and it is possible that at my Years I may have forgot a good deal; but, my Lords, I hope, that what I have forgot is amply supply'd by the Experience and Capacity of my Cotemporaries and Fellow-Officers, and that they, (several of them, my Lords, sit in this House) will set me right if I should mistake in any Point. My Lords, I have been a little us'd to Embarkations, and I do agree with the noble Lord, that the Embarkation of Troops is a very tedious and difficult Matter. But your Lordships will be pleas'd to observe one Distinction which the noble Lord did not make; and that is, my Lords, that there is a great Difference betwixt embarking Horse and Foot. I have had Experience of both, and it certainly is no easy Matter to embark any Number of Horse, but, my Lords, it is by no means so difficult a Matter to embark five or six, or eight thousand Foot. And had such a Number been embark'd at the time when the Troops were brought over from *Ireland*, my Lords, I make no doubt but by this time we might have been in the Possession of a Place in the *West Indies*, which might have paid us for all the Expence of
this

this War, had we kept it. The taking of *Porto-Bello*, my Lords, was a brave Action, it shew'd what an *English* Squadron, if rightly commanded, cando; but had *Mr. Vernon* been at that time furnished with a proper Body of Land-Forces, I don't know how far he might have carried his Conquests. Common Fame reports, that he is now before *Cartagena*, and I wish him all the Success which his Bravery and Conduct deserve; but does any Lord here doubt, that if at this time, supposing him to be before *Cartagena*, he had eight or ten Battalions along with him, that he might not promise himself a much more certain and easy Conquest. Had he eight or ten Battalions on board, my Lords, might he not attempt a Conquest of more Importance to this Nation than even that of *Cartagena* it self. My Lords, I speak of these things according to the Light in which they appear to me; what private Reasons there might be for not sending Land-Forces, along with that Admiral; I shall not pretend to account for, because I am no otherwise acquainted with the publick Transactions than all the good People in *England* either are or may be.

A noble Duke who has spoke in this Debate has said, that the Season of the Year is to be considered, and that the sending Troops to *America* at certain Seasons is attended with the worst Consequences to the Persons of the Men. My Lords, I am extremely sensible of that, and know, that if you send Men from this Kingdom at such a Season as that they must land in *America*, during the unwholesome Months, you send them to their Death. For which Reason, my Lords, when I heard a great deal of Talk about an Expedition, and that we were to send over ten or twelve thousand Men to *America*, in order to take the *Havana* or some important Place from the *Spaniards*, I thought it was

was a very right Measure; but when I heard that the Troops design'd for that Expedition, were to be sent off from *Britain* about the End of *February* or the Beginning of *March*, I said that it was impossible, and that they must land in *America* at the very Time when the violent Heats and unwholesomeness of of the Climate must kill, at least, one half of them. Therefore, my Lords, I was very glad to hear that this Expedition was delay'd to a more proper Opportunity. But, my Lords, when Admiral *Vernon* sail'd from this, it was the properest Season in all the Year for sending Men over to *America*; for they must have landed there at the best Time and in the mildest Season of all the Year; so that no Objection of that Kind can be brought against our not sending Land-forces with Mr. *Vernon*. As we did not think proper to send them at that Time, my Lords, we lost that Year, and if we shall let the approaching Season pass without sending out the Troops design'd for the Expedition that is so much talk'd of, we must lose another Year, and so give the *Spaniards* more Time for fortifying and putting themselves upon their Guard. So that, my Lords, I take it, this is a plain Argument why we ought to agree to this Resolution; for if we knew at the Time of Mr. *Vernon's* sailing from this, that we must lose another Year, in case we did not send the Land forces then, to be sure, they who were in the Direction of Affairs were the more inexcusable, as they brought another Year's Expences upon the Back of the Nation, which is so little able to bear it. For, my Lords, it is there that we can most effectually distress them, it is there that their most sensible Parts lie, and it is only by attacking them there, that we can ever hope to get out of this War with Honour and Advantage.

The same noble Duke was pleased to assert, that all had been done that was to be expected on
the

the Coast of Old Spain, where we have had a strong Squadron lying for near two Years past. All has been done, my Lords! What single Thing has been done, (except the taking a Ship or two) that could make the Spaniards feel that you had a Squadron there: And my Lords, give me leave to say, a Squadron fitted out at a vast Expence to this Nation; it consisted of more and better Ships than even Sir John Jennings, who will always be remembered on those Seas to his immortal Honour, ever had the Command of. It was a stronger Fleet, my Lords, than ever was given to Sir John Norris, who certainly, in his Way as a Sea-Officer, is superior to any Man in Europe. My Lords, I think the Service upon which Mr. Haddock was sent deserved to have been committed to one of your Admirals, the best and ablest Officer in his Majesty's Service; I say this, my Lords, without an Intention to reflect upon any Gentleman who has the Honour to serve his Majesty as a Sea-Officer, I have a great Esteem for all, and no Exceptions to any of them: But, my Lords, as our Reputation was beyond all things to be regarded, especially at the Beginning of this War, I think we ought to have employ'd those who had Rank and Standing in the Fleet, besides Courage, which every Man is supposed to have; and this would have, perhaps, given the Spaniards to understand that we were in Earnest, as much as any Thing, except some vigorous Stroke.

But, my Lords, give me leave to ask what has this great Fleet done? What Return has the Nation had for all the immense Expences she has been at in fitting it out? Has it done any Thing to retrieve your Honour, any Thing to revenge your Wrongs, any thing that may answer the great and necessary Purposes for which this War was enter'd into? No; the Trade of the Nation has suffer'd vastly in those very Seas where this Fleet lay. The Spaniards

niards have indeed been prevented from sending out their Ships; but at the same Time they have got a great many safely home, notwithstanding the Vigilance of this Fleet of ours. Then has nothing been done, my Lords, and will any Man say that nothing was to be done? Unexperienc'd as I am, in naval Affairs, I could point out several things that might have been done, besides blocking up their Ships up in the Bay of *Cales*.

And here, my Lords, I must beg your Lordships Indulgence a little if I give the House my Sentiments, with Regard to that favourite Piece of Service, I meant he blocking up the *Spanish* Fleet in the Bay of *Cales*. I know I am singular in my Opinion on that Head, and I don't expect that many Lords will be of my way of thinking in this Particular; but, my Lords, I think it was a very useless, ill-judg'd Piece of Service. It was a Piece of Service that this Nation had much better been without. I am sorry, my Lords, that I differ with those who gave the Orders in this Respect; but I think it had been much better that the *Spanish* Fleet had sail'd. For, my Lords, if it had sail'd, we could have follow'd them to *America*, perhaps overtaken them at open Sea; in any Event we must have met with them in their *West Indies*, and then, my Lords, we could have destroy'd or taken them, which would have been a brave and a seasonable Piece of Service to the Nation. Nay, my Lords, if we had had a proper Land-force on board, we could at the same time have made other Pushes, which could not have sail'd of being of vast Advantage to this Nation, and putting the Differences betwixt us and *Spain* upon a very short Issue.

But, my Lords, to what purpose has this Fleet been blocking up the *Spanish* Ships all this time in their Harbour? If I am rightly inform'd, or if I am to give any Credit to what is very publicly

talk'd, that Service has been ineffectual; for the *Spanish* Ships have escap'd. So that, my Lords, we have for two Years, at a vast Expence, been endeavouring to do what we find turns out to no manner of Account, while there were many Services which that Fleet might have performed, that must have put an end to the War in our Favour before this time. I know, my Lords, it is given out that *Portmahon* was in Danger, and that our Admiral has failed to prevent any Surprize from that Quarter; but when I reflect upon the long time he has now been at Sea, and the Nature of the Seas where he has been lying, I doubt his Ships have been so dreadfully out of order, that he has been obliged to leave his Station. From what I have said, your Lordships may see that it is evident, the War on that Quarter has been very ill manag'd, and Fortune is not to blame; for we have met with no cross Accidents, no Losses that have disabled us from performing Services that might have been solid and lasting Advantages to the Nation, besides saving the vast Sums that we have been obliged to expend. I shall not, my Lords, pretend to point out by whose Fault all this has happened. I know Admiral *Haddock* to be a very brave worthy Man, and one who I'm sure wou'd, as far as the Force he had with him cou'd reach, perform any piece of Service for the Honour of his King and Country, that he was sent out on: In short, my Lords, I know him to be a Man who as a Sea Officer has every good Quality, except that of great Experience in great Command. For all these Reasons, my Lords, when I reflect upon the unactive State he has been in ever since he sailed from *England*; when at the same time I reflect upon the great Services which it was in his Power to have performed, I cannot in Charity but doubt, that his Instructions bound up his Hands. There is not, my Lords, a common Sailor that won't
tell

tell you, if you ask him, that fifty things might have been done to annoy the *Spaniards* upon those very Seas.

Having said this much with Regard to Admiral *Haddock*, and what has been done in the *Mediterranean*, I shall now take the liberty to make some Observations upon what a noble D^e has said in excuse for our not sending a sufficient Number of Troops to the *West-Indies*. His Grace took notice, that when Mr. *Vernon* sail'd, the Battalions from *Ireland* had been arrived but two Days, and therefore that they were in a very bad Condition to be ship'd on Board for such a Voyage. It is very true, my Lords, that it most have been impracticable to have sent those Troops on Board at that time. But what I would be inform'd of is, Why those Troops from *Ireland* were not sooner brought over? Can it be pretended, that it was uncertain we should enter into a War with *Spain* before that time? My Lords, I appeal to the Papers upon your Lordships Table to prove, that, even in the Opinion of our M[—]y, the War was then inevitable. I appeal to what pass'd in this very House, when several Lords, who certainly knew a great deal of what was passing at that time, declared that all speaking and treating was now at an end, and that then was the Time for acting. But, my Lords, where could the Harm have been, if, upon even the Suspicion that the Nation was to enter into a War, these Troops had been brought from *Ireland*? My Lords, the very Letters which *Geraldino* wrote up and down this Kingdom before he went away, don't leave us the least Room to question, but that the Ministry, long before that time, knew that a Rupture with *Spain* was unavoidable.

My Lords, I come now to speak a little with Regard to the Management of our Affairs at Land, the Element to which my Services have been mostly confin'd

confin'd. And here, my Lords give me leave to say, that I must give up all Pretensions to common Sense, if there have not been many wrong Steps taken in the Affairs of the Army, so far as appears to me, since our entering into this War. I am glad of this Opportunity of disclaiming my having any hand in such a Conduct, as I every Day observe; if they who give the Orders shall reap any Honour from their Management, I shall rob them of no share of it, and I wish them much Joy in it; but at the same time, while that I renounce the Honour, I refuse to have any Part of the Discredit that may arise from the present Measures that are pursued. The noble D—ke who spoke in the Debate said, that he should have look'd upon himself as a Traitor to his Prince, if he had advised him to any other Measures than what have been pursued. My Lords, there the noble D—ke and I widely differ; had I had the Honour to have advised his Majesty, I should have been clearly of Opinion, that a Body of 6 or 8000 Men had been sent out with Mr. *Vernon*, and those too of the very best Troops we have. It was owing to Mr. *Vernon's* Courage, my Lords, that he succeeded as he did, and he has been nobly rewarded. He has, my Lords, had the very same Reward that was bestowed upon the late Duke of *Marlborough* upon the Victories of *Hochsted*, *Ramelies*, and *Malplaquet*, and that is the Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, and of the City of *London*, congratulating his Majesty upon his Success. So that there cannot, my Lords, be greater Honours done to a Subject, than what has on this Occasion been done to that brave honest Man Mr. *Vernon*; that is the greatest Character that I can give any Man; and that Character I know he deserves. But, my Lords, no Officer in the King's Service has for some Years past made so little a Figure in his Way as this
gallant

gallant Admiral has done. I cannot say what this is owing to, but his present Glory makes him ample amends for all his late Obscurity. And, my Lords, give me leave here to observe, what a vast Encouragement it is for all his Majesty's Officers to do their Duty, when they reflect that their Success procures them the greatest Rewards and Honours.

* * * * *

My Lords, I am far from believing the Gentlemen of the Navy when they tell us, that their Ships are a sufficient Guard to our Coasts, and that we can by means of them prevent all Invasions. I do admit, my Lords, that the *French* may take an Opportunity to throw over 10 or 12000 Men here, and that our Ships can't prevent their Landing; but, my Lords, tho' we had sent out 10 Battalions with Mr. *Vernon*, we still had 18000 Men left to guard the Nation, and these must have been an Over-match for any Number of Men the *French* cou'd have landed here. All the Number, my Lords, which they can throw over to this Country before our Fleet come to our Assistance are so inconsiderable, that their Landing would deserve the Name of a *Surprize* rather than of an *Invasion*.

Let us suppose the worst, my Lords, and that we had been invaded with a greater Number, our 18000 Men must still have made Head against them, and I dare say, it could have been no difficult thing for the Government to have raised Recruits, as many as they cou'd have Occasion for.

But, my Lords, I cannot for my Life conceive what should tempt *France* to invade you; she has at the Head of her Councils a Minister who knows how to make Peace and how to make War, and both equally to the Honour of his Country. If that Minister, my Lords, entertains any Designs to the Prejudice of this Nation, he will never invade us while he has us in the very Situation he cou'd wish

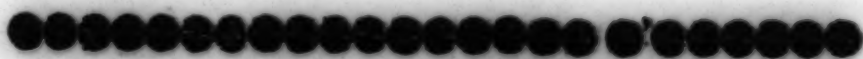
with for. We are now paying great Fleets, great Armies, my Lords, we have been paying them for some Years past, and all to no purpose. This plays the Game of *France*, if she has a Design to break with you, more effectually than any Invasion can do, while the Nation reaps no Advantage from the vast Expence she is at. My Lords, I am afraid we are now suffering more than if she were actually at War with us; we, from Year to Year, keep up useless Armaments by Sea and Land, which must ruin our Finances; and Finances, my Lords, are the Blood and Sinews of War.

The noble D-ke took notice, that our agreeing to this Resolution look'd like passing a Censure upon what we had already congratulated his Majesty for. No, my Lords, I see no Reason for viewing it in that Light. It is very possible that this House may approve of one Step and disapprove of the rest, and I believe there are many Precedents of it. The noble D-ke likewise said, that the infamous Libels which are daily published against the Government, are a proper Consideration for this House, when we are upon the State of the Nation. My Lords, I have occasion to see a good many Papers wrote upon publick Affairs upon both sides of the Question. My Opinion of them, my Lords, is, that on one side they are weak, scurrilous, void of Reasoning, and never can be accus'd of Wit. On the other side, they are wrote with at least a Shew of Reasoning and Argument, and with Regard to good Sense and good Manners. And, my Lords, it is notorious, that in the Papers of the former, some of the greatest Characters in the Nation have been attacked and blacken'd; so that an Enquiry of that kind, wou'd, I believe, come out no way in favour of those who write for the A - - n.

Upon the whole, my Lords, I don't see the least Inconveniency that can attend your Lordships agreeing

ing to the Resolution : To me it contains nothing but a plain demonstrable Fact; and all the Arguments I have heard against it have rather confirm'd me in favour of it. I see no Reason why your Lordships should be in any pain about agreeing to a thing that can affect but a very few, and may occasion the future Management of this War to be put upon a more sure and advantageous Footing for this Nation than it has hitherto been. I am perswaded, my Lords, that if the thing that is censured in this Resolution had been properly provided against, we should have by this time brought our Enemies very low, and have either oblig'd those who are neuter to be our very good Friends, or to declare themselves in such a Manner as might put us upon our Guard, and let us know what we are to expect. My Lords, I ask your Lordships Pardon for having troubled you thus long; but I thought the Importance of the Occasion required it. I shall conclude with declaring, **THAT I AM FOR AGREEING TO THE MOTION.**

F I N I S.



Dublin June 9, 1740.

On Thursday next will be published and sold by the Printer, hercof, in a neat Pocket Volume, An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colly Cibber, Comedian, and late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal. With an Historical View of the Stage during his own Time, written by himself.

BOOKS lately published and sold by the
Printer hereof,

l. s. d.

| | | |
|---|----|----|
| THE Works of J. S. D. D. | 10 | 00 |
| D. S. P. D. in 6 Vols. 8vo. | 16 | 3 |
| Ditto 6 neat Pocket Vols. 12mo. | 6 | 6 |
| Pope's Works, 3 Vols. 12mo. | 4 | 4 |
| Ditto Letters, 2 Vols. | 17 | 0 |
| The Turkish Spy, 8 Vols. | 11 | 0 |
| Rollin's Method of teaching and studying the Belles Lettres, 4 Vols. | | |
| The Bachelor of Salamanca, or the Memoirs of Don Cherubin de la Ronda; containing many delightful Novels, 2 Vols. By Mr. Le Sage, Author of Gil- Blas, and the Devil upon Two Sticks. | 4 | 4 |
| History of England and Ireland by way of Question and Answer. | 2 | 2 |
| Poems on several Occasions in 8vo. by the Rev. J. S. D. D. D. S. P. D. | 5 | 5 |
| Ditto in 12mo. | 2 | 2 |
| Travels into several remote Nations of the World. By Capt. Lemuel Gulliver. | 2 | 2 |
| The Memoirs of Signior Gondulio di Lucra. Taken from his Confession and Examination before the Fa- thers of the Inquisition. | 2 | 2 |
| The Cupid. A Collection of three hundred of the most beautiful Love Songs in the English Language, in 12 Parts, suited to 12 different sorts of Lovers, viz. The Female Lover, the admiring Lover, the slighted Lover, the modest Lover, the constant Lover, the jealous Lover, the tender Lover, the whining Lover, the fussy Lover, the merry Lover, the passing Lover, and the happy Lover. | 2 | 2 |
| Isaac's Law Tables | 12 | 0 |
| Baron Puffendorf's Memoirs, 5 Vols. 12mo. | 1 | 7 |
| Polite Conversation by Simon Wylshuff, Esq; | 5 | 5 |
| Wolffius's Algebra | 1 | 6 |
| Life of Christ | 1 | 7 |
| Gib's Architecture | 7 | 4 |
| Voltaire's Letters concerning the English Nation | 2 | 2 |
| Gordon's Geographical Grammar. | 5 | 0 |
| The Life of the Duke of Berwick. | 3 | 3 |
| The Ascent of Cyrus the Younger, and the Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, translated from Xenophon. By John Hawkey, A. R. | 5 | 5 |
| Complete Family Piece, containing many hundred Re- ceipts in Physick, Surgery, Cookery, Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, Fowling, Husbandry, Gardening, &c. | 3 | 3 |
| Thoughts on Religion, and other various Subjects. By M. Pascal, 8vo. | 4 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous Works of his Excellency Matthew Prior, Esq; in 2 Vols. Vol. I. containing the History of his own Time. Compiled from his own Manuscripts. Revi- sed and signed by himself. Vol. II. containing a new Collection of Poems, consisting of Epistles, Tales, Satyrs, Epigrams, &c. Never before published. | 5 | 5 |
| A Treatise on Tillage: To which is prefixed a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Swift, D. S. P. D. recommending the same, | 0 | 6 |

